

Calendar No. 1882

86TH CONGRESS
2d Session

SENATE

REPORT
No. 1812

S. 1689 file

THE FREEDOM COMMISSION AND THE FREEDOM
ACADEMY

JUNE 30, 1960.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. Dodd, from the Committee on the Judiciary, submitted the
following

R E P O R T

[To accompany S. 1689]

The Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the bill (S. 1689) to create a Freedom Commission for the development of the science of counteraction to the world Communist conspiracy and for the training and development of leaders in a total political war having considered the same, reports favorably thereon with amendments, and recommends that the bill, as amended, do pass.

AMENDMENTS

(1) Capitalize the words "free world" wherever they appear in the bill.

(2) On page 2, line 8, strike out "the".

(3) On page 2, line 16, strike out the word "continuous".

(4) On page 3, line 13, insert immediately after the word "conspiracy" the following:

and of the dimensions and nature of the global struggle between freedom and Communism

(5) On page 3, strike out all of line 1 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

dimensions and nature of the threat,

(6) On page 3, line 22, immediately following the word "conspiracy" insert

and of the dimensions and nature of the global struggle between freedom and Communism

49006

(7) On page 4, change the semicolon in line 14 to a period and strike out the remainder of the line and all of lines 15 and 16.

(7½) On page 5, line 10, strike the period after the word "States", insert a comma and add the following:

one of whom shall be selected from the higher echelon of the State department

(8) On page 7, line 2, insert immediately following the word "Functions" the words "of Commission and Academy".

(9) On page 7, lines 3 and 4, strike out "is authorized and empowered to" and insert in lieu thereof the word "shall".

(10) On page 7, line 8, insert immediately before the word "Academy" the words "Commission and".

(11) Beginning with line 10 on page 7, strike all down to and including line 9 on page 8 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

(1) To carry on a research program designed to develop an integrated operational science that befits and bespeaks the methods and values of free men and through which the Free World will be able to meet and defeat the carefully patterned total aggression—political, ideological, psychological, economic, paramilitary and organizational—of the Soviet Bloc, and through which we, as a nation, may work toward our national objectives in a systematic manner. To achieve this purpose the full range of methods and means is to be thoroughly explored and studied including the methods and means that may best be employed by private citizens and nongovernmental organizations and the methods and means available to the Government other than the methods and means already being used. This research program shall include the study of our national objectives and purpose and the development of proposals for intermeshing and integrating the full spectrum of methods and means into a coordinated, short and long range strategy for victory, seeking the utilization of our full potential in the public and private sectors.

(2) To educate and train Governmental personnel, private citizens and foreign students concerning all aspects of the international Communist conspiracy, the nature of the global struggle between freedom and Communism, and the science of counteraction to the Communist conspiracy.

(12) On page 8, line 13, beginning with the word "Academy", strike all down to and including the period immediately following the word "agency" on line 19 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

Academy students, other than Government personnel, shall be selected, in so far as is practicable and in the public interest, from the diverse groups within and without the United States where trained leadership and informed public opinion are most needed.

(13) On page 8, line 22, strike out the word "other".

(14) On page 8, strike out all of line 24 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

assign officers and employees to the Academy for designated training.

(15) On page 9, line 8, strike out all after the period and immediately thereafter insert as the beginning of a new subsection:

“(c) Foreign students selected for train-

(16) On page 10, beginning with line 4, strike all down to and including line 11.

(17) On page 10, line 13, strike out “9” and insert in lieu thereof “8”.

(18) On page 10, line 16, immediately following the word “disseminate”, insert a comma.

(19) On page 10, line 17, immediately following the word “charge”, insert a comma.

(20) On page 10, line 18, strike out the word “persons” and insert in lieu thereof the word “people”.

(21) On page 10, beginning immediately following the word “and” where it first appears in line 20, strike out the remainder of the sentence and insert in lieu thereof the following:

of the dimensions and nature of the global struggle between freedom and Communism, and of ways they can participate effectively toward winning that struggle.

(22) On page 10, line 24, immediately following the word “instruction”, change the period to a comma and insert the following:

and also to publish such research materials as may be in the public interest.

(23) On page 11, line 5, strike out “10” and insert in lieu thereof “9”.

(24) On page 11, line 11, strike out “11” and insert in lieu thereof “10”.

(25) On page 12, line 2, strike out “12” and insert in lieu thereof “11”.

(26) On page 14, line 24, strike out “13” and insert in lieu thereof “12”.

(27) On page 15, beginning with line 8, strike all down to and including line 15 on page 19.

(28) On page 19, line 17, strike out “21” and insert in lieu thereof “13”.

PURPOSE OF THE AMENDMENTS

Amendments numbered (1), (2), (3), (7), (8), (10), (13), (15), (17), (18), (19), (20), (23), (24), (25), (26), and (28) are technical only.

Amendments numbered (4) and (6) are made in order to provide a better clarification of section 2(a), 5(A) and (C). The committee believes that understanding of the Communist conspiracy should be related to and tied in with knowledge of the dimensions and nature of the global struggle between freedom and communism.

Amendment No. (9) provides that the Commission “shall” establish a Freedom Academy instead of “is authorized and empowered” to establish the Academy. The committee believes the establishment of the Academy is the most essential part of the bill and its establishment should be mandatory rather than permissive. The purpose of the bill cannot be realized unless the Academy is established at an early date.

Amendment No. (11) rewrites the functions of the Commission and Academy. However, the amendment does not change the essential functions as set out in section 6 of the original bill. In developing an "integrated operational science" it is as important that we improve present methods as it is that we devise new methods. In developing national strategy it is of paramount importance that we develop the capability of intermeshing the widest range of methods and approaches into an integrated operational science through which we can plan our strategy and tactics over decades, if necessary, and develop a coordinated many directional approach to meet each new Soviet thrust. The need to intermesh and integrate our methods and means into a coordinated short- and long-range strategy is emphasized in the amended language.

Amendments numbered (12) and (14) are made in order to clarify the second and last sentence of section 7(a). The committee is of the opinion that these sentences created an unintended misconception in that they implied the Commission would determine which Government personnel would be trained at the Academy. The amendment makes it clear that the various departments and agencies of Government will make the determination as to which of their officers and employees shall receive training. In selecting private citizens for training, the committee feels the primary test should be need, that is, which students can make the greatest contribution in the most critical areas, rather than a mechanical "cross section" which would not distinguish between the critical and not-so-critical.

Amendment No. (16) eliminates section 8 of the original bill. The committee believes that section 8 extended beyond the basic purpose of the bill and that the provisions contained therein can be adequately handled by existing programs.

Amendment No. (21) is made because the committee believes that understanding of the Communist conspiracy should be related to and tied in with knowledge of the dimensions and nature of the global struggle between freedom and communism.

Amendment No. (22) is made in order to correct an omission in the original bill. The committee believes that one of the necessary functions of operating an information center is the publication of research materials.

Amendment No. (27) eliminates the provision for a Joint Congressional Freedom Committee. Before amendment, the bill would have established a Joint Congressional Freedom Committee, composed of seven Members of the Senate and seven Members of the House of Representatives, to make continued studies of the activities of the Freedom Commission and of problems relating to the development of counteraction to the international Communist conspiracy.

This amendment eliminates the provision for the establishment of a joint committee, thereby preventing duplication of functions between the proposed joint committee and existing committees of the Senate and House of Representatives. The elimination also does away with the need for an appropriation of funds to staff the proposed new joint committee.

The committee believes that under the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, the standing committees of the Senate and House of Representatives, having appropriate jurisdiction, are well qualified to

exercise continuous watchfulness over the objectives proposed in the amended bill.

PURPOSE

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to create a Freedom Commission and a Freedom Academy charged with undertaking a development and training program aimed at developing an integrated cold war operational science, training Government personnel, private citizens, and foreign students in this science, and in increasing public knowledge of the dimensions and nature of the global struggle, between freedom and communism.

STATEMENT

The country has been warned by Central Intelligence, the State Department, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation that the Soviet Union and Red China, under cover of Khrushchev's talk of peaceful coexistence, are rapidly expanding their political and economic warfare, especially in Latin America and Africa. This may constitute the greatest long-range threat to our national survival.

The Communists have conquered nearly a billion people during a period when their sphere was markedly inferior in industry, technology, science, and military capabilities—in fact, inferior in almost everything except power-seeking know-how. The Soviets have been able to expand their empire during this period of inferiority, because they have developed a science of protracted conflict in which they are able to gradually increase their relative power position, using a well integrated combination of political, economic and military methods while avoiding a sufficient provocation to invite massive retaliation. Central to their science of protracted conflict is their skill in political and economic warfare.

Soviet capabilities in political and economic warfare are not inborn. They are the result of a massive development and training program extending over several decades. This formidable program has given them a huge fund of political warfare knowledge, an effective operational science, and large numbers of highly trained cold-war professionals. Soviet leaders, who are products of this program, are aptly described as conflict managers capable of orchestrating the cold war through the full spectrum of well-developed political, ideological, psychological, sociological, technological, organizational, economic, military, and paramilitary methods and means. Subversion and propaganda are second nature. They see the cold war in more dimensions than their opponents and have a many directional approach to cold-war problems. They phase their strategy over decades and can interchange and vary their conflict instruments in a well-integrated operational pattern. They believe that they alone understand the revolutionary forces at work in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, which the West has set in motion, but which they expect to penetrate and manipulate toward neutralism and then toward the Soviet bloc. Within the past 2 years they have moved over and around our military defenses to contest our rear areas in Iraq, Guinea, Cuba, and elsewhere.

Today the Soviets are operating an extensive system of political warfare training schools and development centers at Moscow, Leningrad, Tashkent, Prague, and elsewhere on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Some of these schools, like the Lenin Institute of Political Warfare, began operating in the midtwenties. The center at Prague specializes in training Latin Americans and Africans, while the school at Tashkent trains Communists from the Islamic countries. The top schools in Russia, China, and Czechoslovakia are not narrow trade schools, but comprehensive training centers giving detailed instruction in the vast field of political warfare and supporting subjects, with courses often running 2 or 3 years in length. Significantly, the training of Latin Americans was stepped up in 1956 and in that year Red China began operating a parallel system of schools for Latin American Communists.¹

Working in close cooperation with the political warfare schools are a number of centers where political scientists, linguists, anthropologists, psychologists, economists, sociologists, and others have been enlisted in the service of political warfare. They are engaged in practical research projects aimed at increasing Communist-operational capabilities. These range from adopting Pavlovian studies of induced behavior to political warfare, to developing advanced techniques for penetrating nationalist parties in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, to intensive area studies providing detailed knowledge of their victims, to language programs which even cover African tribal tongues. In recent years these centers have markedly increased their special studies preparing for Soviet penetration of Africa and Latin America.

The increased activities at these political warfare schools and associated centers spell out future Soviet intentions in clear and unmistakable terms.

Today, Soviet leaders are dealing from a position of arrogant power. Their expanding industrial base and scientific and technological advances give them not only a powerful new propaganda theme, but also greatly increased means for economic subversion and rocket blackmail. A weak Soviet Russia, capturing a third of mankind through superior power-seeking techniques was a formidable enemy. Tomorrow's Soviet Russia combining burgeoning strength with operational know-how immeasurably increases the threat to our national survival. The traditional methods of the past which could only partially contain a weak Soviet, will have to be revised. New methods will have to be developed and leaders systematically trained in their use.

There are grave deficiencies in this country's preparation to defend itself and the free world in this unitary, total, unending war to the finish. At the top of the list, and underlying our other failures, is our failure to institute an adequate cold-war development and training program.

The hearings before the committee established these two points:

1. No concentrated, systematic effort is being made to develop an integrated operational science for our side which will meet the entire Soviet attack and work toward our long-range national

¹ See testimony of C. P. Cabell, Deputy Director of Central Intelligence before the Internal Security Subcommittee, Nov. 5, 1959 (released Jan. 31, 1960).

objectives in a coordinated manner utilizing every area of potential strength in the public and private sectors. We have not thought through all of the short- and long-range methods and means which freemen can properly use when faced with a Soviet-type challenge, and we have not integrated these methods and means into a broad strategic plan. This is especially true in the field of political and economic warfare. Bits and pieces of the problem are being worked on within the Government and at some universities, and part of this development work is of a high order, but the total effort falls far short of seeking an integrated, operational science and does not begin to develop our true potential.

2. Nowhere today can Government personnel or private citizens receive broad spectrum training in cold war, especially in the large and highly complex field of political and economic warfare.² Not only do we lack top level schools, we do not even have intermediate or lower level schools. There is no place where the bits and pieces are pulled together and taught in concentrated form.

The existing centers are not doing this job, and were not designated or staffed to do this job. The Foreign Service Institute, which provides some training for our career Foreign Service officers and for personnel of some 17 other agencies and bureaus dealing with the cold war, is an example. About 60 percent of its annual \$5 million budget is spent on language training, which is sorely needed. Much of the remainder goes for traditional-type training like fiscal management, administrative operations, economic trade promotion, general orientation, and how to avoid irritating the local nationals. All of this is useful and needed, but is hardly preparation for total political war. There is also a 2-week course on communism. Considering the present sophistication and complexity of the Soviet attack, this is equivalent to a 2-week course in law, medicine, or nuclear physics. Most significant, there is practically no training designed to equip or motivate the student to think in terms of counteractivity.

The National War College and below it the Army War College, the Naval War College, and the Air University treat political-economic warfare as a footnote to more traditional career subjects. The military does not consider political-economic warfare its area of responsibility and is mindful of the traditional separation of our Armed Forces from political matters. The secret CIA schools are primarily concerned with the special problems of intelligence, like developing a cover, and do not seek to train a cold-war leader in the broad sense.

In the schools for international studies at our universities, students are educated in foreign languages, the history and institutions of foreign countries. But they are not equipped for political warfare. Their training does not motivate them to engage in that type of warfare and they are not taught how to put their knowledge to use in the world struggle—to engage in intellectual contest, to argue with conviction for our cause, to find the enemies' weakness, to integrate all

² Political warfare, in the broadest sense, spans the entire cold war. It covers the political, ideological, psychological, sociological, organizational, and paramilitary methods and means by which the power struggle is being determined. Economic warfare is really a branch of political warfare.

of the potential methods and means in the public and private sectors, to phase our strategy over decades, and so forth. There is, generally speaking, a piecemeal approach in which each international relations course requires much duplication, with the basic introductory information repeated again and again. But the payoff phase in terms of developing a new synthesis of the operational art, the specifics, the details, the ramifications and implications, the final arguments and the final deductions are never reached.

The results of this training and development failure are all around us.

Within the Government our cold-war policymakers and their advisers lack not only an integrated operational science to guide their planning, but also important background knowledge attuned to evolving integrated, many directional approaches to short- and long-range problems. Our leadership is forced to rely, in general, on the traditional methods of diplomacy, economic aid, and military assistance, all employed in a more or less conventional way, because these are the only methods and means most of our people are trained to use. But, as presently employed, they do not engage the enemy on much of the global battleground. The struggle is being waged in intellectual circles, student groups, peasant villages, labor unions, within the world's mass communications system and in newly emerging nationalist parties, as well as on the diplomatic front, by the skilled graduates of the Prague and Moscow centers. A scattering of libraries, Voice of America broadcasts, a political student exchanges and economic aid alone cannot cope with this situation. Critical areas are being lost by default. Even if the top leadership had all of the desired operational knowledge, they would still lack trained manpower within the agencies and the organizational forms necessary to activate and mesh much of what they would like to do. Their situation would be roughly analogous to a general staff without a trained army. We need systematically trained and highly motivated people at all levels. Otherwise good planning at the top will be frustrated by lack of know-how and motivation in the field.

Within the private sector there is reason for grave concern over the ability of our people under present circumstances to generate an adequate response to the total Soviet challenge. There is little in the experience of Americans, or other people of the free world to prepare them for the war of attrition we are now in wherein our power is gradually eroded over many years by a combination of seemingly isolated events, none of which appeared decisive or especially alarming at the time.

If the American people become complacent, or frustrated and ineffectual, if they are unable to sustain a determination to win and will to sacrifice over an indeterminate period, if they are unable to find effective means to mobilize the great, sleeping potential in the private sector and to focus it on the survival questions, then our national survival is in real jeopardy.

It has become extremely important that our people be well informed on the nature and dimensions of the Soviet challenge and what the private sector can and must contribute. It is not enough that our people have the will to win. They must also know how they can

participate and do participate in this continuous struggle in an effective, sustained and systematic manner.

While recognizing the generally exclusive provinces of Government activity, as well as the types of Communist activity which free peoples will not emulate, there remains a large and crucial realm of positive activity in which private citizens may and can undertake significant action and upon which their survival may depend. But coordinated, intelligent action in the private sector, as in Government, must be prefaced by knowledge, organization and trained, motivated leaders. Only rudimentary thought has been given to the broad range of possibilities in the private sector. This committee believes there are millions of Americans who would like to do something useful, but are stymied by a dismal lack of knowledge and know-how. Millions more could be induced to participate, if shown the critical needs and a practical program to meet them.

Within the Federal structure, only the President and the National Security Council have the responsibility to consider in the round all the factors that enter into our program for survival. Unfortunately, the President and the NSC are burdened with a heavy load of day-to-day problems which must be met and solved and do not have time, or the organizational means, to think through and develop all the potential methods and means in the public and private sector and to mesh them in a coordinated counterstrategy for victory.

achieve our full capabilities, and we must create the organizational means must be found to do them. It seems fundamental that only through an intensive development and training program can we achieve our full capabilities, and we must create the organizational means to do this.

The Freedom Commission bill, sometimes called the Freedom Academy bill, creates the logical organizational means to meet our cold-war development and training needs in a systematic, concentrated manner.

The bill has two broad objectives:

1. *To carry on research with a view to developing an integrated operational science for our side which will meet the entire Soviet political-economic attack and work toward our national objectives in a systematic manner, utilizing all potential means in the public and private sectors which are in accord with the ethics of freemen faced with a Soviet-type challenge.*

2. *To train Government personnel, private citizens, and foreign students in this science.*

The bill would establish an independent agency, the Freedom Commission, composed of six full-time members and a Chairman, to be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. The members serve for staggered terms of 6 years and no more than four, including the Chairman, may be members of any one political party. The Chairman serves at the pleasure of the President. Sections 4 and 5 establishing the Commission are patterned on the Atomic Energy Act.

The Commission is authorized (sec. 6) to establish and administer an advanced cold-war development and training center, the Freedom Academy. The Academy is visualized as the principal instrument for achieving the above objectives. At the Academy will be brought together the wide diversity of knowledge and talents necessary to

explore and develop the full range of counteraction to the total aggression of the Communist bloc, especially the neglected area of political economic warfare. These experts would be relieved of other duties so they can devote full time to development and training.

The committee believes the importance of bringing all of these experts under one roof cannot be overemphasized. It is the intimate association of minds possessing all the relevant areas of knowledge and daily seminars covering the full range of counteraction, with difficult problems approached from many angles, that is most likely to create a new synthesis of the operational art. Scattering these experts through different agencies and universities to work on bits and pieces of the problem in comparative isolation whenever the day-to-day workload eases, is the method least likely to produce integrated, many directional solutions.

Developing an operational science on paper will result in only a limited increase in capabilities, unless we take the next step and train leaders in this science. Sections 6 and 7 authorize the Commission and Academy to train Government personnel, private citizens, and foreign students. The bill leaves the details of selection to the Commission, adding the general policy proviso (for private citizens and foreign students) that the students come from the diverse groups within and without the United States where trained leadership and informed public opinion are most needed. The Commission should train those students who can make the greatest contribution on graduation and can step into the areas where leadership is most needed. Thus, many factors other than prior academic attainment will be considered in student selection and it would probably be a mistake to attempt to spell these out in the bill. Government personnel will be trained upon the request of the interested agency and it will be up to the agency to determine which of its personnel should receive Academy training.

Section 7(b) authorizes financial assistance to students and their dependents. The committee believes that many desirable students will be unable to attend without help. The amount of assistance needed will vary, so the bill does not establish fixed grants or per diem, but leaves this to the sound discretion of the Commission.

Section 7(b) also authorizes the admission of foreign students as nonimmigrants for such time and under such circumstances as may be prescribed by regulations promulgated by the Commission, the Secretary of State, and the Attorney General. Foreign students may be summarily deported for stated reasons. This subsection is patterned after a similar section of the U.S. Information Service Act setting up the student exchange program and provides the same safeguards.

Section 8 authorizing the Commission to establish an information center within the United States fills an important need. If the development work of the Academy is to be made known and fully utilized, the Commission should have authority to publish and the organizational means to disseminate. Also, there should be a recognized center where private citizens and organizations can turn for information and assistance in making the private sector more effective in our struggle for survival. Section 9 gives the Commission authority to publish and also to prepare and disseminate other material, including training films suitable for community, high school, and col-

lege level instruction. Our film industry in cooperation with the Commission could make an important contribution here. It is also desirable for the Academy to keep in touch with its graduates through a newsletter or magazine and this can be handled through the information center. The committee feels there would be little overlap between the information center and the function of USIA.

Section 9 is a standard section prohibiting disclosure of information where prohibited by law or inconsistent with the security of the United States.

Section 10 provides a double security check of Commission personnel. Subsection (a) provides for the standard Civil Service Commission investigation. Subsection (b) also authorizes the Commission to request a security check by the FBI of any individual employed by the Commission or under consideration for employment. The latter subsection is considered desirable, because of the importance the Soviets will attach to penetrating the Commission.

Section 11 gives the Commission a series of more or less standard administrative powers.

Section 12 authorizes the Commission to employ a General Manager to discharge such of the administrative and executive functions as the Commission may direct. The purpose is to ease the administrative load on the Chairman and Commissioners, so they can concentrate on the development and training functions. The section follows a similar section in the Atomic Energy Act.

Because of the unique nature of this legislation, the committee feels some general explanation and suggestions will be helpful.

In order to fill the training vacuum, the Academy, at the beginning at least, should provide training at several levels. At the upper levels, the Academy would seek to fashion a rounded cold-war expert who understands the problem areas and the broad range of methods and means (many still to be developed) which can be brought to bear in solving these problems. Not only immediate short-range methods, but long-term programs. Not only Government action, but important action in the private sectors. This training should go far beyond seeking solutions to specific problems. It should seek a global operational approach to the cold war and our national objectives, utilizing and meshing in an operational science all of the potential methods and means available to us.

At lower levels the Academy would offer courses from a few weeks up to a year in length. While this is hardly time to educate a cold-war expert, it is time to acquaint students with the broad outlines of our survival problems, to motivate them to take an active part, and to show them specific things they can do.

The students would come from many sources. It is expected that all Government agencies connected with our cold-war operations would utilize the Academy's facilities, just as some 25 agencies use the facilities (principally language training) of the Foreign Service Institute. They would employ Academy graduates as well as assign personnel for basic, intermediate, and advanced training. The committee would like to see our colleges and universities send one or more of their faculty for at least a year, so they could organize similar courses at the undergraduate and graduate level and begin a snowball effect. Our national civic organizations could sponsor members for

intermediate level courses, while local clubs could sponsor community leaders for short courses. High school teachers could attend a 2-month summer course. Corporations and labor unions can sponsor members, and businessmen, labor leaders, newspapermen, and students, communicating with, visiting or residing in foreign areas would be especially desirable students.

Tens of thousands of foreign students attend our universities each year. A significant number would probably volunteer to attend the Academy, at least for one of the short courses, and if they did so they would be infinitely more effective in preserving and strengthening the free world. Today many return home without a sense of mission, without a clear understanding of the Soviet challenge, without a feeling the free world is depending on them, and with no organized thoughts on how they can participate in freedom's battle. While it may be wise to separate our political program from our exchange program up to a point, still we should give our friends *the opportunity* to attend the Freedom Academy, so they can learn how to defend themselves. We have assumed the responsibility of training the elite of countries seriously threatened and weakened by Soviet political warfare. To educate in an artificial atmosphere avoiding any meaningful discussion of these realities is not only remiss, it is criminal. We should remember the Chinese whose American diplomas became one way tickets to slave camps or worse. We should remember those Cubans educated in the United States who were unable to cope with the trained conspirators from Prague and are now imprisoned on the Isle of Pines.

How do the Commission and Academy fit into the Federal structure? The Commission is a development and training agency, not a policy-making agency. The Commission and Academy will produce ideas, organizational-operational suggestions, short- and long-range program proposals aimed especially at meeting the Soviet political-economic attack. These would be made available to the President, the National Security Council, and the various agencies of Government to enable them to improve present methods, to make use of entirely new methods, and to assist them in developing a systematic, long-range approach to the cold war.

In fulfilling its training function, the Academy will not duplicate the functions of the Foreign Service Institute or the CIA and FBI schools. These are essentially trade schools concerned with specialized skills. The training function of the Academy is much broader, and its special emphasis on political-economic warfare and integration of the full spectrum of methods and means, including those in the private sector, fills a virtual vacuum.

The position taken by the Justice Department and State Department that this training and development work *could* be handled by existing agencies with less overlapping and confusion, is not impressive. There is no claim this *is* being done, nor any claim the agencies have any future plans along these lines. They are already engrossed with the day-to-day problems, and have demonstrated no desire to take on this heavy added burden. After 15 years of cold war, they have yet to come up with anything approaching an adequate development and training program for a total political war. It is quite plain that nothing is likely to be done until one agency is divorced from

other responsibilities and given clear direction and authority to do the job.

If the training and development is divided up and parceled out to existing agencies, as Justice and State imply should be done, this will simply perpetuate the present piecemeal approach. It would scatter the quite limited number qualified to do the job, rather than concentrating them where they could work together with greatest efficiency and with the widest range of thinking focused on the problem areas. It would tend to perpetuate parochial approach to problems which cut across several agencies and involve the private sector. It would lead to endless duplication. It would prevent systematic, concentrated training of top professionals, or at least would cause them to get their training at different times and different places with much duplication and no training center concerned with or staffed to teach the overall, many directional approach.

It is only by uniting and teaching in one place and at one time all of the elements that the full scope of the challenge can be comprehended and an adequate response generated.

It took generations of bitter experience before we completed our system of training schools for hot war which provide the promising officer with excellent training at each stage of his career. The Army has West Point, the Command and Staff School, the Army War College, the National War College, and the Industrial College of the Armed Services, in addition to its many specialist schools. Cold war is as complex as modern hot war and its practitioners must be trained with equal care.

The committee considers this bill to be one of the most important ever introduced in the Congress. This is the first measure to recognize that a concentrated development and training program must precede a significant improvement in our cold-war capabilities. The various agencies and bureaus can be shuffled and reshuffled. Advisory committees, interdepartmental committees, and coordinating agencies can be created and recreated, but until they are staffed by highly motivated personnel who have been systematically and intensively trained in the vast and complex field of total political warfare, we can expect little improvement in our situation.

This one lone Freedom Academy, costing a fraction of the Cuban sugar subsidy, can lay the foundation for a major breakthrough. Properly staffed and funded, it will stand as a symbol of our determination to win the cold war. It will give courage to our friends and dismay our enemies. It is a practical, fundamental approach to our national survival. The committee recommends the enactment of the Freedom Commission bill at the earliest possible time.

It has been estimated that the cost of the Freedom Academy will be in the vicinity of \$10 million the first year, \$20 million the second year, and a sustained operating budget of \$35 million by the third year.

No estimates of this committee are intended, or should be considered, as a substitute for the judgment of the Committee on Appropriations respecting amounts which should be appropriated, either initially or in following increments, for the work of the Commission. The provision of more funds than can be utilized for any given period would not be desirable. What is important is that the work be un-

dertaken with all possible speed and that the program of the Commission be developed at the highest achievable rate of acceleration. Basic responsibility for programing the work of the Commission must rest with the Commission itself and the judgment of the Appropriations Committee on the basis of such programing and in the light of estimates submitted in connection therewith should be the major factor controlling the amount to be appropriated for the work of the Commission at any given time. For these reasons, the appropriation utilization is left open in the bill as reported, so as to offer neither an implied promise of any particular amount, nor an implied deterrence, by way of limitation, on the most rapid possible implementation of the bill.

It will take time to assemble a teaching and research staff, to work up a curriculum, to collect a library, and to lease or construct an adequate plant. The Academy may not be able to begin instruction until the second year, or to hit its full stride until sometime in the third year. However, we have delayed so long, we should proceed as if this were an urgent wartime crash program. If the training program is to have an appreciable impact on our capabilities in the near future, it must be conducted on a large scale. It is extremely difficult at this time to estimate the ratio between Government, private, and foreign students, the amount of financial assistance certain students will require, and the ratio between basic, intermediate, and advanced trainees. The Commission will be pioneering in a substantially unexplored field and can furnish the Congress with more detailed estimates as it proceeds with its work.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL,
Washington, D.C., May 18, 1959.

HON. JAMES O. EASTLAND,
Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: This is in response to the request of Senator Dodd, vice chairman of the Internal Security Subcommittee, for the views of the Department of Justice concerning the bill (S. 1689) to create the Freedom Commission for the development of the science of counteraction to the world Communist conspiracy and for the training and development of leaders in a total political war.

The bill would create a Freedom Commission with responsibility for training Americans and selected foreign students to better understand the nature of the international Communist conspiracy and for developing effective methods for combating it. The Commission would function, to a large extent, through a Freedom Academy and information centers which it is authorized to establish. A Joint Congressional Freedom Committee would also be established, to make continued studies of the activities of the Freedom Commission and of problems relating to the development of counteraction to the international Communist conspiracy.

The Department of Justice is wholly in accord with the view that a greater awareness throughout the free world of the extent and operations of communism and methods of combating it is most desirable.

However, there would seem to be no need to create a new agency in order to accomplish this objective. Rather, existing agencies, for example, the U.S. Information Agency, and others in the security field, could be utilized with less risk of confusion, overlapping of responsibilities, and duplication of effort.

Accordingly, the Department of Justice is unable to recommend enactment of this bill.

The Bureau of the Budget has advised that there is no objection to the submission of this report.

Sincerely yours,

LAWRENCE E. WALSH,
Deputy Attorney General.

○